5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

854 as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the
856 lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it:
"Make my other teeth grow quickly."

861 The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the
855 grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in
603 tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their
86 injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period
867 an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew
868 older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls
603 were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides, and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded, turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were told that in later years they should love their brothers even more than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi
065 that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

855 Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters, in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father. On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl, or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother, unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother. At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek, where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves. Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

vidual embraced responsibility; he had no inclination to shirk it. In a sense, the rhythm of Pawnee work life was like a ballet, whereas ours is like a prison lockstep: "You must, you must, you must get to work!"

The day's routine in our Pawnee household began when either Victory Call or Old Bull happened to awaken; this depended on which one decided to get out of bed first. Or else White Woman or Queen Woman might be the first to awaken, and then she would remind her husband that it was morning. From the time one or the other of the two men got out of bed, the day's program was set; the others simply followed the initial cue. When the man had gotten out of his bed he went outside and inspected the horizon and the stars, came in and kindled the fire, and said, "Fire's made." His senior wife then got up and started the breakfast. As observed by one of the contemporary missionaries in 1837, the rest followed with precision. The minor cycles of household operation were also conducted in a similar mode. Someone felt impelled to take care of a needed task and mentioned it and volunteers were forthcoming without further ado. Pressure and compulsion are implicit in our attitude toward work; voluntarism was the Pawnee way.

The functions of the women in the earth lodge were subdivided roughly according to age. The north and south quarters of the circumference of the house were each subdivided into three "stations." The central one of these (due north and due south) was the core position and it was occupied by the mature women of the lodge. They furnished the main provisions and directed the necessary work. At the inner or western station on each side was the place of the immature girls and newly married young women. The outer or eastern station on each side was for the old women, symbolically on the way out and physically nearest to the exit (or entryway) of the lodge. Most commonly each of these stations was occupied by several women who carried out its special functions jointly.

The details of the function of the central station have been mentioned above in connection with general household operations. The other two stations supplemented it in very different ways. At the east stations for the old women, the children past the age of infancy were cared for, the old women being referred to by the children as "grandmothers," regardless of the actual biological kinship. The children slept in the beds with their "grandmothers" and shared a bowl of food with them at meals. Grandma saw that they were warm and well fed and tried to help them in every way. She was a permissive, familiar, kind person to whom the child could always appeal. Between grandma and grandchild there was neither formality nor constraint. Jokes were made about a boy saying, "Look how close he sticks to his grandma; he wants to marry her!" or "There he goes always running to his grandma." Besides child care, the grandmother would give a good deal of assistance to "the senior women of the

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the edges through a series of little holes. The beaver skins that they trapped for sale to the traders, were treated in the same way. 281

The men made their own saddles and horse trappings, some of deer and some of buffalo hide. All men made these for themselves and dressed the deer hides, even Eagle Chief himself. But buffalo hide was gotten from the women. They made saddles, bridles, stirrups, and saddle bags. For saddle bags, discarded buffalo robes were obtained from the women. The saddles were made either of deer and deer horns or wood and buffalo hide. The horn saddle took four or five days; the buffalo hide ten to fifteen. The men worked hard on their saddles and decorated them elaborately. 282 492 462 [531]

The basic clothing was cut out and sewn with an awl and sinew by the women. The women wore a wrap-around skirt, an overblouse, leggings fastened at the knee, and moccasins. The skirt, of tanned deer hide, reached just below the knee with the closing at the right side. It was fastened at the waist with a woven yarn belt. If no deer hide was available, they used a very soft buffalo hide. 291 [294]

The blouse was a simple sleeveless pullover extending down over the waist so that it covered the top of the skirt and the belt that held it in place. It was made of an oblong piece of skin folded in two and cut out for the neck and armholes so that it would not rub against the underarm. (See Figure 48-1.) It was sewn along the sides with sinew, the seams extending just a little below the waist. The bottom section that reached toward the hips was left unsewn on the two sides. Around the neck was a scarf about 4 inches wide sewn across the back and reaching over the shoulders so that it could be turned up in cold weather for protection. The neck was provided with a drawstring whose ends hung down in front unless they wanted to draw the blouse close together around the throat.

Until the age of five or six, the little girls ran around naked, but then they had to have a little wraparound skirt of buckskin with a drawstring at the top. They would always complain that it was too loose, for it was usually made to allow for growth; when the little girl complained her mother would say, "Oh, go on, you'll grow soon," or "After all, it might shrink." 855 • 291

Leggings of tanned deer or elk hide were worn by all the women, and these were tied around under the knee and turned down over the tie string at the top. For both men and women, they made two-piece moccasins with hard soles and softer uppers. Those of the Skidi were below the ankle and those of the South Bands a little above. 291 [84]

The clothing of the men, besides the basic garments, included a number of ceremonial trappings or some that signified special rank or achievement. The main clothes were a loincloth, leggings, and moccasins. [292]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

soled moccasin was the one the Pawnees used most, but in winter they sometimes made soft-soled moccasins out of buffalo hide with the hair turned inside for warmth. Sometimes they adapted the hard-soled moccasin to cold weather by wrapping the feet in hay or calico, changing the padding in the evening when it became damp.

The hard-soled moccasin was in two parts—a hard rawhide sole of buffalo leather with a softer top of deer skin sewn on. To make a soft-soled moccasin, one piece of hide was used folded over in the length, one section serving as the sole and the other as the upper.

Ordinarily, everyone had to have at least two pairs of moccasins at a time—one for everyday use and one for good wear. When the ordinary pair was worn out, the good ones were moved down and a new good pair made. Soles were patched when they wore through, and if the sole was entirely worn out and the top still good, the whole sole was replaced. On the summer and winter migrations, soles often had to be fixed en route. Children were not ordinarily provided with moccasins except in winter. The young boys who foraged about for bird's eggs in spring were the exception. Moccasins had to be made for them in order to protect them from snakebite. Winter moccasins were made large to accommodate the lining of hay or calico.

Each moccasin took about an hour and a half to sew—three hours for a pair. If they were decorated with beads it took five or six days of spare time. When a man was in a hurry for his moccasins, a woman would have to ask someone to help her out with the sewing. She would say, "My husband wants to go off and I'm making him one pair of moccasins. Would you help me out and sew up another one for me?" Sisters were likely to help out in this way or women married to two brothers. Other women would be given a small fee for their help—about five yards of calico, for example. In the spring, and again in the fall after the Doctor's Opera, men commonly went off on the warpath and then they would need at least three extra pairs of moccasins to take along. These would be filled with rations and placed in a "flat package" worn on the back.

There was a variety of supplementary clothing that was worn by men to denote rank and achievement. The skin shirt was one of the outstanding symbols of high status. Very few men were privileged to wear them. Among the chiefs only Eagle Chief and Lone Chief were eligible, while such able chiefs as White Eagle and Comanche Chief were not. Victory Call was "not high enough" as he was a cadet member of a chiefly family, while his older brother Sitting Hawk, who was the senior representative of the family, might well qualify. Big Doctor, although not a chief, could wear such a shirt. The man entitled to wear it would have to go to a specialist to have it made. He had to supply all the materials and pay the maker a pony for the labor alone. The shirt was decorated down the sleeves with enemy scalps with the hair on, and there was porcupine quill work down the length of the shirt itself.